

# An American Voltaire



An American Voltaire:  
Essays in Memory of J. Patrick Lee

Edited by

E. Joe Johnson and Byron R. Wells

**CAMBRIDGE**  
**SCHOLARS**  

---

**P U B L I S H I N G**

An American Voltaire: Essays in Memory of J. Patrick Lee,  
Edited by E. Joe Johnson and Byron R. Wells

This book first published 2009

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

12 Back Chapman Street, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2XX, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data  
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Copyright © 2009 by E. Joe Johnson and Byron R. Wells and contributors

All rights for this book reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the copyright owner.

ISBN (10): 1-4438-0142-9, ISBN (13): 978-1-4438-0142-3

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Illustrations .....	ix
Acknowledgments .....	xi
Introduction .....	1
Chapter One.....	20
A New Genre:	
<i>l'Opéra moral</i> / Moral Opera in Eighteenth-Century France	
THEODORE E. D. BRAUN	
Chapter Two .....	36
Voltaire and the Uses of Censorship:	
The Example of the <i>Lettres Philosophiques</i>	
NICHOLAS CRONK	
Chapter Three .....	62
Enlightenment Intertextuality:	
The Case of Heraldry in the <i>Encyclopédie méthodique</i>	
KATHLEEN HARDESTY DOIG	
Chapter Four .....	80
Sex as Satire in Voltaire's Fiction	
WILLIAM F. EDMISTON	
Chapter Five .....	97
Violence, Levity, and the Dictionary in Old Regime France:	
Chaudon's <i>Dictionnaire anti-philosophique</i>	
DAVID EICK	
Chapter Six .....	120
L'abbé, l'amazone, le bon roi et les frelons	
OLIVIER FERRET	

Chapter Seven.....	141
Greuze's Self-Portraits: Figures of Artistic Identity BERNADETTE FORT	
Chapter Eight.....	167
From Forest to Field: Sylvan Elegists of Eighteenth-Century France WALTER GERSHUNY	
Chapter Nine.....	180
The Falsification of Voltaire's Letters and the Public Persona of the Author: From the <i>Lettres secretes</i> (1765) to the <i>Commentaire historique</i> (1776) JOHN R. IVERSON	
Chapter Ten .....	201
The Baron de Saint-Castin, Bricaire de la Dixmerie, and <i>Azakia</i> (1765) E. JOE JOHNSON	
Chapter Eleven .....	221
John Law and the Rhetoric of Calculation THOMAS M. KAVANAGH	
Chapter Twelve .....	240
"Le Roi des Bulgares": Was Voltaire's Satire on Frederick the Great just too Opaque? E. M. LANGILLE	
Chapter Thirteen.....	253
Voltaire and the Voyage to Rome JOHN D. LEIGH	
Chapter Fourteen .....	273
Textual Liaisons: Voltaire, <i>Paméla</i> and Don Quixote JONATHAN MALLINSON	

Chapter Fifteen .....	285
Les petits livres du grand homme:	
polémique et combat philosophique chez Voltaire	
OURIDA MOSTEFAI	
Chapter Sixteen .....	297
Sentimental Horror:	
Enlightenment Tragedy and the Rise of the <i>Genre Terrible</i>	
JAMES STEINTRAGER	
Chapter Seventeen .....	315
Voltaire and the Comic Genre:	
Polemics and Rhetoric	
BYRON R. WELLS	
Contributors.....	323
Index .....	328





## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. *Intro*-1. “Voltaire,” drawing by Jean-Michel Moreau le Jeune, engraved by Pierre Alexandre Tardieu, 1784, after the sculpture by Houdon.

Fig. *Intro*-2. Title page, *Sermon des cinquante*.

Fig. *Intro*-3. “Avertissement des éditeurs,” by Condorcet for the *Sermon des cinquante*.

Fig. *Intro*-4. Title page, *Le Sermon du Rabbin Akib*.

Fig. 2-1. *The Interior of a Customs House* (1775), Nicolas-Bernard Lépicier, Oil on canvas, 98 x 164 cm, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid.

Fig. 2-2. Detail, *The Interior of a Customs House* (1775), Nicolas-Bernard Lépicier, Oil on canvas, 98 x 164 cm. © Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid.

Fig. 4-1. “*Candide*, Chap. 1<sup>er</sup>,” Illustration hors-texte, Jean-Michel Moreau le Jeune and Dambrun.

Fig. 6.1. Illustration, chant XXI de *La Pucelle d'Orléans*, Jean-Michel Moreau le Jeune and Bagney.

Fig. 7-1. *Portrait de l'artiste*, Jean Baptiste Greuze, Oil on canvas, 55 cm x 49.5 cm, Musée Greuze, Tournus.

Fig. 7-2. *Self-Portrait in Profile*, Jean Baptiste Greuze, Brush-and-gray-ink drawing on white paper 15.7 x 13.4 cm, The Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford.

Fig. 7-3. *Portrait de l'artiste*, Jean Baptiste Greuze. Oil on panel, 65 cm x 51.5 cm, Musée du Louvre, M.I. 1071.

Fig. 7-4. *Portrait de l'artiste*, Jean Baptiste Greuze. Oil on canvas, 73 cm x 59 cm, Musée du Louvre, INV. 5034.

Fig. 7-5. *Autoportrait au chapeau*, Jean Baptiste Greuze. Oil on panel, 60 cm x 48.5 cm, Musée Greuze, Tournus.

Fig. 7-6. *Portrait de l'artiste*, Jean Baptiste Greuze. Oil on canvas, 52.5 cm x 45 cm, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Marseille.

Fig. 8-1. Illustration hors-texte, T. E. Deseve and Pierron of Chant I, in *Les Plantes, poème*.

Fig. 8-2. Frontispiece for “Marquis Louis de Fontanes, littérateur et homme politique (1757-1821).”

Fig. 8-3. Illustration hors-texte, N. Moneiau and P. P. Choffard, of Chant II, in *Les Jardins, ou l'art d'embellir les paysages; Poème en quatre chants*.

Fig. 10-1. The martyrdom of Jesuit missionaries in Canada, as depicted in François de Creux's *Historiae canadensis, seu Novae-Franciae libri decem, ad annum usque Christi MDCLVI*.

Fig. 12-1. *The Arrest of Voltaire and His Niece by Frederick's Order*, Jules Girardet.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The co-editors of this volume would like to thank the following kind souls for their encouragement and assistance in creating this *festschrift* in honor of J. Patrick Lee.

We would like to thank the staff at Cambridge Scholars Publishing for their assistance in this venture, especially Carol Koulikourdi and Amanda Millar.

For giving us early access to copies of Dr. Lee's two posthumous essays, we would like to express our gratitude to Kathleen Hardesty Doig and Ourida Mostefai.

At Barry University, we would like to thank Christine McCready for providing us with a copy of Dr. Lee's curriculum vitae and of his obituary from the Miami Herald. At Augusta State University, we would like to thank Carol Waggoner-Angleton for her assistance with illustrations from the Kehl edition of Voltaire's *Candide*. We would also like to thank Albert B. Smith for a long-ago gift of various volumes of the Kehl edition. At the Harry Ransom Center of the University of Texas at Austin, we would like to thank Jean Cannon for her assistance in obtaining an illustration of Jesuit martyrs.

At the Clayton State University Library, we would like to thank Rhonda Boozer for her unflagging aid with interlibrary loans. At the Clayton State University Center for Instructional Development, we would also like to thank James Fries, Keith L. Grier II, and Christopher J. White for their help in making the digital scans of many of the various illustrations contained in this volume.

For reading various drafts of the introduction, we would like to thank Caroline Clower, Rebecca Godlasky, William Edmiston, and Christopher McRae.

For providing us with "insider" information about Dr. Lee's involvement over the years with the Southeastern American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies and the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies; for subsidizing several of this volume's illustrations, and especially for her steadfast encouragement, we would like to thank eighteenth-century studies stalwart Annibel Jenkins.

Lastly, we would like to acknowledge the kind assistance of Louise Sipple Lee, J. Patrick Lee's wife of 34 years, for providing us with

information about his life and his book collection and for her approval of our desire to create this volume.

All citations in this volume to *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* will treat it as a series title, with unnamed volumes being labeled *Miscellany/Mélanges*, as is indicated in the Voltaire Foundation's online catalog.

## INTRODUCTION

*Il est plus aisé de connaître l'homme en général  
que de connaître un homme en particulier.*

—La Rochefoucauld

This collection of essays on various topics in French eighteenth-century studies has been assembled to honor the memory of Joseph Patrick Lee. Born in Leitchfield, Kentucky on 30 November 1942, “Pat” died suddenly at the age of 63 on 29 July 2006 in Coral Gables, Florida, leaving behind his wife of thirty-four years, Louise Sipple Lee, two sisters, two brothers, and other members of his extended family. A 1963 graduate of Brescia College in Owensboro, Kentucky, where he majored in French and minored in English, History, and Spanish, Dr. Lee did his graduate work in French, with additional study of Spanish, at Fordham University. He received his doctorate in 1971 after having defended a dissertation on *Voltaire's Sermon des cinquante: A Critical Edition*, under the direction of Fernand Vial and John Pappas. The recipient of multiple fellowships, including a Fulbright Fellowship to the Université de Paris in 1966 and a National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Fellowship in 1973, Dr. Lee was an instructor and then an assistant professor of French at Brescia College from 1963 through 1971 and an assistant professor of French at the University of Georgia from 1971 through 1978. Later in 1978, he became an associate professor of French at Belmont Abbey College, where he was an academic dean for one year, then served as vice president for academic affairs through 1981. From 1981 until his death, he was a professor of French at Barry University in Miami Shores, Florida, where he served first as vice president for academic affairs for fourteen years. He then became provost and senior vice president for academic affairs beginning in 1995, helping lead the major expansion of Barry University from a small college of around 2,000 students to a university of some 9,200 students. Deeply involved in the community life of South Florida, he served on the boards of eight organizations and was a member of five other civic groups. At the time of his death, he had made arrangements to take a year-long sabbatical beginning in the coming fall semester and was planning to retire the following year, in order to devote himself more fully to his scholarship. Alas, such was not to be.

Dr. Lee was immensely active in his professional life. A member of some twenty professional organizations and long involved in the regional accrediting body, the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, he was a long-time member of all of the major academic societies associated with the study of language and literature, French studies, and especially eighteenth-century studies. His involvement with the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies (ASECS) and the Southeastern American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies (SEASECS) went back to their very beginnings, for he was a charter member of both societies. The secretary of SEASECS for three terms, he chaired various committees over the years, was a two-time board member, and was president of the society in 1983-1984.

Dr. Lee read more than fifty papers at various academic conferences. He gave his first presentation in 1973 and was still giving talks in the spring of the year of his passing. Most of his scholarly peers associate Dr. Lee with Voltaire studies, and indeed, notes Nicholas Cronk of the Voltaire Foundation and one of the contributors to this essay collection, Dr. Lee was “one of the pre-eminent experts on Voltaire in the USA; he played an active role in the Voltaire Society of America [...] and] regularly organised panels on Voltaire at the annual conferences of the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies” (8).<sup>1</sup> Over the course of his career, he published a dozen articles on Voltaire, contributed to dictionary entries, compiled bibliographies, collaborated on one book concerning Voltaire’s *Dictionnaire philosophique*, and wrote a number of reviews of books relating to Voltaire and eighteenth-century studies (see fig. *Intro-1*). He was also on the editorial board of the Voltaire Foundation’s *Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire*, for which he had been slated to edit four volumes. He had, in addition, been working on a book to be titled *Voltaire in America, 1800-present*.

Many members of SEASECS and ASECS got to enjoy some of the materials for this envisioned book in Dr. Lee’s always well-attended presentations. He was skilled in presenting his research in a most entertaining way, with essays that displayed solid scholarship, but also included jokes or amusing anecdotes of yore. The editors of this volume have fond memories of humorous talks on the “material afterlife” of Voltaire, whose image or name over the centuries has been plastered on all

---

<sup>1</sup> Nicholas Cronk, “Hommage à J. Patrick Lee (1942-2006), ” *Revue Voltaire* 7 (2007): 7-9.

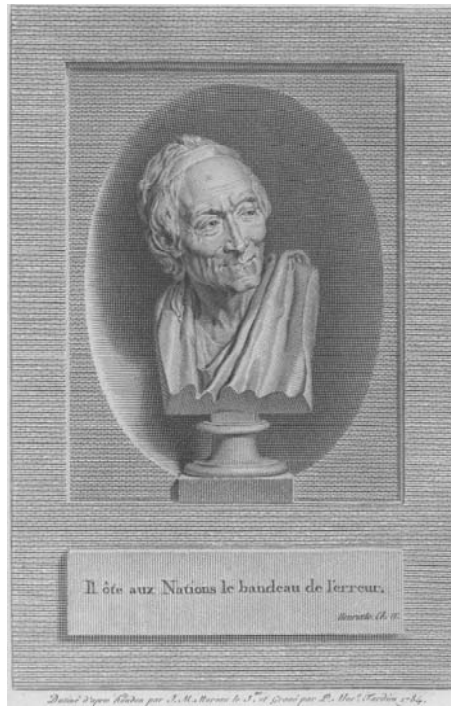


Fig. Intro-1. Drawing by Jean-Michel Moreau le Jeune, engraved by Pierre Alexandre Tardieu, 1784, from Houdon's sculpture; frontispiece in Voltaire, *Philosophie générale: métaphysique, morale et théologie*, Tome 1 in *Œuvres Complètes de Voltaire* (Kehl: De l'Imprimerie de la Société Littéraire Typographique, 1785), n.p. Collection of E. J. J.

manner of products, all of which Dr. Lee was collecting along with his vast, personal library of some 11,000 volumes.<sup>2</sup> One especially funny presentation was at the 2001 ASECS meeting in New Orleans, when he talked on nineteenth-century mediums in New Orleans and New York who claimed to be channeling Voltaire's messages and sending his "love" from

<sup>2</sup> With respects to only manuscripts written and works published in the eighteenth century, according to the catalog laboriously assembled by his wife Louise, Dr. Lee had collected some 1,994 items representing 3,189 volumes. These include 35 manuscripts in the hands of Voltaire, Madame du Châtelet, and others; 245 stand-alone editions of *Candide*, 39 of *Zadig*, 54 of the *Dictionnaire philosophique*, and 21 of *La Henriade*.

the afterlife! Sadly, without reliable channeling, many of these talks live on only in the memory of his audience.

Luckily for posterity's sake, Dr. Lee often used his conference papers as starting points for his scholarly writing: many of his published essays began as talks, but were expanded upon and had scholarly apparatus added to them before appearing in proceedings collections. Ever tempted by arcane bits of information, which prompted him to go to great lengths to ferret out an answer, he would report his results in his conference talks and in his essays. A painstaking scholar who was seldom afraid to share his esthetic judgment on the writings in question, Dr. Lee spent a great deal of his time and energy on correcting the literary, historical record concerning various matters.

One of Dr. Lee's first publications had its origins in a 1973 conference presentation, which then appeared as part of a proceedings journal in 1976. In the essay, he continued work begun in his dissertation.<sup>3</sup> "Le Sermon philosophique: A Voltairean Creation" starts humorously with Dr. Lee promising his audience to obey a dictum by Voltaire, which cautions against long monologues for fear of boring the listener.<sup>4</sup> Continuing with some brief remarks on Voltaire's education in rhetoric and the *philosophe's* collection "of the well-known *sermonneurs* of the seventeenth century" (331), the essay surveys the nine different sermons Voltaire wrote as vehicles for exposing his ideas concerning supposed perversities in the Bible, the need for tolerance in the exercise of religion, "atheism, superstition, and the interpretation of the Old and New Testaments respectively" (332), and the sacraments. Dr. Lee considers the *Sermon des cinquante* to be the best of the lot, a "masterpiece of invective" (335), noting that "in no other critical work by Voltaire is the tone of the harangue so bitter, so constantly brimming with venom and hatred" (33). Demonstrating how Voltaire's sermons followed established rhetorical models, the article goes on to discuss other examples of philosophical sermons penned during the Enlightenment.

---

<sup>3</sup> Joseph Patrick Lee, *Voltaire's Sermon des cinquante: a critical edition*, Thesis, Fordham University, 1971. In his "Hommage," Cronk calls Dr. Lee's decades of work on this *Sermon* "his most important and enduring research [...]. He located manuscripts, and made a crucial contribution to our understanding of the text's complex history of composition, research published in a series of articles which will form the basis of the future critical edition" (8).

<sup>4</sup> J. Patrick Lee, "Le Sermon philosophique: A Voltairean Creation," *Studies in Language and Literature: The Proceedings of the 23<sup>rd</sup> Mountain Interstate Foreign Language Conference*. Ed. Charles L. Nelson (Richmond, KY: Department of Foreign Languages, Eastern Kentucky University, 1976), 331-35.



That same year, Dr. Lee had two other significant publications. He contributed multiple entries in French on “Abraham-Joseph de Chaumeix,” one “M. de Mauve,” “Jean Deschamps,” “Jacques-Georges Deyverduin,” “Mathieu Maty,” and “César de Missy” for the *Dictionnaire des journalistes (1600-1789)*.<sup>5</sup> The work for the last of these journalists no doubt contributed to the 1976 article “Voltaire and César de Missy.”<sup>6</sup> Missy, a Huguenot minister and refugee, had a correspondence with Voltaire between 1741 and 1745. Dr. Lee’s article provides a short biography of Missy and notes which of his sermons were popular in publication. The essay accounts for Missy’s role in a London periodical of that era, the *Bibliothèque britannique*, his participation in translations such as Richardson’s *Pamela*, and his efforts as a minor poet and fabulist. Missy, a “respected classical and biblical scholar” and a “noted bibliophile,” whose “extensive library contained many first and rare editions, manuscripts of polyglot *Bibles*” (60), was also an admirer of Voltaire. Missy penned poems in honor of some of the *philosophe*’s works and reviewed some of them (or their translations) in the *Bibliothèque britannique*. Because of common acquaintances, Missy’s correspondence with Voltaire centered on ultimately unsuccessful attempts to publish in London editions of *Mahomet* and the *Oeuvres mêlées*. A lack of commonality between the two led to an eventual break in their correspondence—much to Missy’s chagrin, concludes Dr. Lee.

In 1977, Dr. Lee resumed his work on Voltaire and sermons. “Voltaire and Massillon: Affinities of the Heart,” looks especially at the *Petit Carême*, ten short sermons Massillon had written for the moral instruction of the eight-year-old Louis XV.<sup>7</sup> A footnote by Beuchot, the nineteenth-century editor of a complete works edition of Voltaire, while glossing one of the *conte en vers*, remarks in passing that one of Voltaire’s favorite readings was the *Petit Carême*. Intrigued, Dr. Lee sets about establishing the veracity of Beuchot’s assertion, making his case first by citing credible eighteenth-century sources such as d’Alembert and Palissot, then by elucidating the matter through examining Voltaire’s own writings. Careful to observe when previous critics such as La Harpe have made incorrect

---

<sup>5</sup> Jean Sgard, ed., *Dictionnaire des journalistes, (1600-1789)* (Grenoble: Presses Universitaires de Grenoble, 1976). This volume was revised and re-published in 1999 by the Voltaire Foundation.

<sup>6</sup> J. Patrick Lee, “Voltaire and César de Missy,” in *Miscellany/Mélanges*, Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century 163 (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1976), 57-72.

<sup>7</sup> J. Patrick Lee, “Voltaire and Massillon: Affinities of the Heart,” *The French Review* 50: 3 (1977): 437-45.

assertions about Voltaire's borrowings from the orator and when later scholars such as René Pomeau echoed them, Dr. Lee establishes the emergence of a "definite chronological pattern" as "Voltaire's appreciation and admiration" (438) grew over the years with the various publications of Massillon's sermons. With increased familiarity, Voltaire would go from making a critical, passing mention of Massillon as a figure of austere devotion in a 1715 work, to celebrating the bishop of Clermont as a model of eloquence in the article on the same "for volume five of the *Encyclopédie* in 1755" (440). In 1764, Voltaire excepted Massillon "from a general condemnation of sermon writers" (441) in the article "Guerre" in the *Dictionnaire philosophique*. Although there were instances when Voltaire condemned passages in Massillon's sermons, the *philosophe* nonetheless continued to admire him, a trait shared by other eighteenth-century notables such as Buffon, d'Alembert, and Palissot. Surveying what later critics and scholars had to say with respect to Voltaire's sincerity or indeed Massillon's worth, Dr. Lee adduces that Voltaire's esteem probably resulted from qualities he deemed positive in the sermonizer: having the mindset of a moderate, tolerant *philosophe* who not only preached moral virtues and condemned war and religious fanaticism, but also did so with *sensibilité*. Dr. Lee finishes his essay by noting that, whether or not Voltaire "used Massillon to suit his own ends," the former "was genuine in his appreciation of [the latter's] artistic and human qualities" (445).

Coinciding with his change in academic positions from the University of Georgia and the assumption of immense administrative duties first at Belmont Abbey College, then at Barry University, Dr. Lee went through some twelve years in which he published no essays nor did he read any papers at scholarly conferences. As Cronk notes in his "Hommage," Dr. Lee's "work as Provost was onerous and allowed no time for research leave" (8). In an e-mail dated 25 July 2008, his wife explained the resumption of his scholarly productivity, noting:

The book collecting never slowed down, nor did the research. But I do remember a time around the mid 90s when he made a conscious decision to get serious about his research, and it became his refuge from the stress of his job as provost. And that stress was considerable, because Barry University under Sr. Jeanne O'Laughlin was always in dynamic growth mode.

To get himself back into the publishing mode, Dr. Lee returned to a familiar subject.

In his short 1992 essay on "The Textual History of Voltaire's *Sermon des cinquante*," Dr. Lee resumed his studies on the object of his

dissertation, in this instance inquiring after the reliability of modern editions of the *Sermon*. He explains that a major difficulty arises in that Voltaire “never allowed the *Sermon des cinquante* to be printed in his *Œuvres complètes* during his lifetime and deliberately cast a cloud of mystification around its authorship and date of composition” (1080). Thus, when it was later printed in the Kehl edition (see fig. *Intro-2*), the text used was not one that had appeared in any version “printed during Voltaire’s lifetime” (1080). Dr. Lee begins by tracing the print history of Voltaire’s text, relying first on mentions of such instances by the *philosophe* and Besterman—printings of which there seem to be no available copies. More importantly, there are the 1762 and 1763 printings in Voltaire’s library, the latter of which contains corrections and emendations in his own hand, plus other textual variants, none of which are “to be found in any subsequent editions” (1081). Dr. Lee further delineates appearances of the text as part of collections or separate printings, whether based on the original 1762 version or part of an augmented 1766 and 1788 versions that are also in Voltaire’s library. The Kehl edition is not in accord with these earlier printings, but rather, Dr. Lee theorizes, “comes from a manuscript tradition which possibly dates from before the first printed editions” (1082). Calling for “more extensive study” (1082) of the extant manuscripts, none of which are “in Voltaire’s hand, or written under his immediate supervision” (1082), but many of which seem to have commonalities with the Kehl edition, Dr. Lee determines that the Kehl edition of the text—which was used for the Moland and Pléiade reprintings of the text—is not a definitive one. A consequential danger thus surfaces: an unreliable text risks “unfounded assertions” (1083) by scholars.<sup>8</sup>

It seems very fitting that an eighteenth-century scholar should contribute to encyclopedic, dictionary, and reference ventures, an undertaking which Dr. Lee fulfilled in the aforementioned dictionary of eighteenth-century journalists, repeated on two occasions in 1994 and once again almost a decade later. In 1994, along with Andrew Brown, Nicholas Cronk and Ulla Kölving, Dr. Lee collaborated on a work that was linked to his love for collecting antiquarian books, particularly those concerning Voltaire. This particular work was entitled *Livre Dangereux: Voltaire’s Dictionnaire philosophique: A Bibliography of the Original Editions and Catalogue of an Exhibition held in Worcester College Library to*

---

<sup>8</sup> J. Patrick Lee, “The Textual History of Voltaire’s *Sermon des cinquante*,” *Transactions of the Eighth International Congress of the Enlightenment*, Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century 304 (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1992), 2: 1080-83.

*Celebrate the Tercentenary of Voltaire's Birth.*<sup>9</sup> The volume's acknowledgments note that Dr. Lee "provided most of the catalogue entries for the English translations" (5). The volume also relates that material for the volume was made available by a number of institutions and by Dr. Lee. In that same year, Dr. Lee contributed several entries to the *Dictionnaire Voltaire*, which include "Catéchisme de l'honnête homme," "Dernières paroles d'Épictète à son fils," "Sermon des Cinquante," and "Sermon du rabbin Akib."<sup>10</sup> (2003) Lastly, in a 2003 collection of studies devoted to Voltaire's notes, Dr. Lee contributed a "Bibliographie sur la note" that includes some 44 entries.<sup>11</sup>

In a 1996 proceedings journal, Dr. Lee continued his work on what had been his last entry in the *Dictionnaire Voltaire*: here "The Genesis and Publication of Voltaire's *Sermon du rabbin Akib*," a text and topic, as we shall see later, that he would revisit for his final, posthumous publication.<sup>12</sup> The title accurately describes the contents of this essay, which opens with a brief history of the first appearances of the manuscript in 1761. Dr. Lee notes that it was the first of Voltaire's sermons to be published, though not the first written, as the *Sermon des cinquante* held that honor. As Dr. Lee relates, the *Sermon du rabbin Akib* was inspired in large part by an *auto da fé* held in Lisbon in 1761 in which some "59 cases were adjudicated: 37 men [...] and 22 women; and 22 Jews were tried. They were all sentenced to prison, the galleys, or banishment" (630). The sole person to suffer capital punishment, however, was the aged Jesuit priest Father Gabriel Malagrida. Having run afoul of the political authorities, the priest was first falsely accused of attempted regicide, but was ultimately convicted by a flagrantly manipulated court of the Inquisition on trumped-up charges of heresy and gross indecency. The elderly man was executed by strangulation. Voltaire, at first deceived by reports of the events as they unfolded over several years, finally learned the truth of the matter in 1761 and was inspired to write the *Sermon*.

---

<sup>9</sup> (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1994).

<sup>10</sup> *Dictionnaire Voltaire*, ed. Raymond Trousson, Jerom Vercruysse, and Jacques Lemaire, (Brussels: Espace de Libertés, 1994).

<sup>11</sup> J. Patrick Lee, "Bibliographie sur la note," *Les Notes de Voltaire: Une écriture polyphonique*, ed. Nicholas Cronk and Christiane Mervaud, Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century 2003:03 (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2003), 378-88.

<sup>12</sup> J. Patrick Lee, "The Genesis and Publication of Voltaire's *Sermon du rabbin Akib*," *Transactions of the Ninth International Congress on the Enlightenment*, Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century 347 (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1996), 2: 627-31.

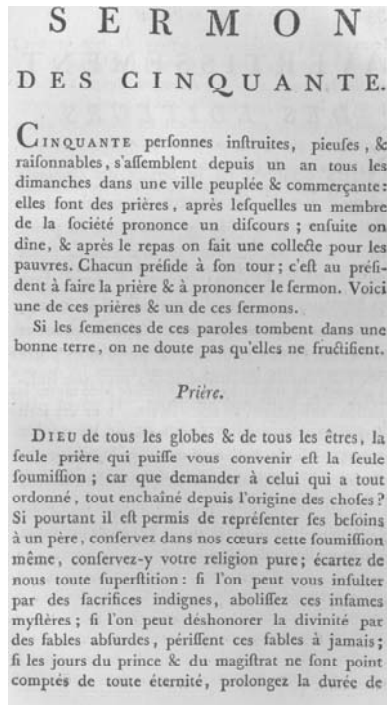


Fig. Intro-2. Title page, *Sermon des cinquante*, in Voltaire, *Philosophie générale: métaphysique, morale et théologie*, Tome 1 in *Œuvres Complètes de Voltaire* (Kehl: De l'Imprimerie de la Société Littéraire Typographique, 1785), 381. Collection of E. J. J.

In a proceedings collection published in 1997, Dr. Lee contributed an essay entitled “Le *Sermon des cinquante* de Voltaire, manuscrit clandestin,” which is a continuation of work he had been doing in 1992 in which he questions the reliability of the version of the *Sermon* published in the Kehl edition of Voltaire’s works.<sup>13</sup> Noting that, despite years of research, many things about the *Sermon* remain enigmatic, Dr. Lee here turns to a fuller treatment of the circulation of manuscript versions of the text, which he and other scholars believe is “le fruit de l’étude de la Bible et du

<sup>13</sup> J. Patrick Lee, “Le *Sermon des cinquantes* de Voltaire, manuscrit clandestin,” *La Philosophie clandestine à l’Age classique: Actes du colloque de l’Université Jean Monnet Saint-Etienne, du 29 septembre au 2 octobre 1993*, ed. Antony McKenna and Alain Mothu (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1997), 143-51.

*Commentaire littéral* de Dom Calmet, à Cirey, avec Mme du Châtelet” (143). He also affirms his sentiment both that the dates of 1749 on the first known manuscripts were likely postdated and that indications from Voltaire’s correspondence point to 1752 and 1753 as the first years of its circulation in friendly circles. Exploring indications of the clandestine diffusion of various manuscripts over the next decade or so, the essay concludes with a description of the twelve manuscripts currently available either in libraries or in private collections. As Dr. Lee makes clear, only two of the manuscripts predate the first publications of the *Sermon*, while the others postdate the appearance of the work in print, the latter examples of which also circulated furtively, with the earliest versions being even rarer than the manuscripts.

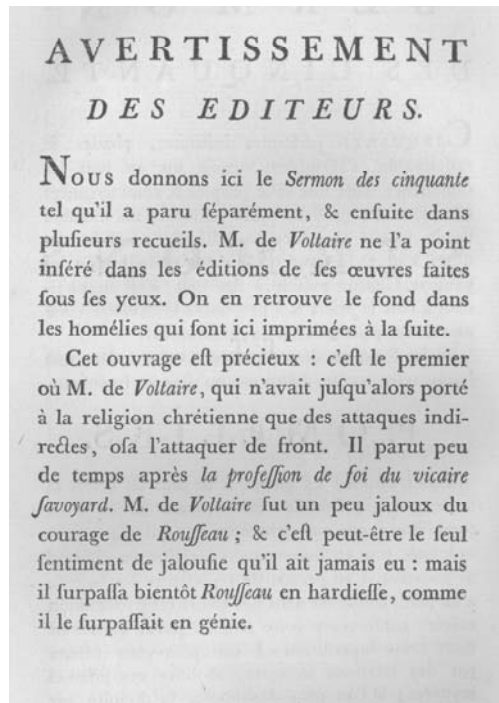


Fig. Intro-3. Condorcet, “Avertissement des éditeurs,” of the *Sermon des cinquante* in Voltaire, *Philosophie générale: métaphysique, morale et théologie*, Tome 1 in *Œuvres Complètes de Voltaire* (Kehl: De l’Imprimerie de la Société Littéraire Typographique, 1785), 380. Collection of E. J. J.

In the same year, Dr. Lee published a second essay in a proceedings journal: "The Publication of the *Sermon des cinquante*: Was Voltaire Jealous of Rousseau?"<sup>14</sup> It is an excellent example of Dr. Lee's efforts in correcting the myths of literary history via careful scholarship. He takes as his starting point the "Avertissement" to the *Sermon*, which Condorcet had penned for the Kehl edition of the work (see fig. *Intro*-3). Dr. Lee also includes a short literature review of later scholars who had pointed to this publication as the beginning of Voltaire's campaigns against *l'infâme*. Dr. Lee then devotes some consideration to the complex history of the text's composition, publication, and Voltaire's more than prudent, "constant denial of authorship" (687) of such a dangerous text. As the figure further reveals, of course, Condorcet had also indicated that Voltaire was a bit jealous of Rousseau's daring to publish the "Profession du foi du vicaire savoyard" as part of the fourth book of *Émile*. This mythical charge was repeated again and again by writers of later centuries both friendly and hostile to Voltaire. Dr. Lee notes the irony in this particular charge, for Voltaire in his correspondence had repeatedly praised the "Profession," which "was one of the few pieces by Rousseau that Voltaire admired at all" (688) and that in spite of his disdain for the rest of *Émile*. To counter the charge of jealousy, Dr. Lee first re-establishes that manuscripts of the *Sermon* had long been in circulation before its actual publication, with the earliest manuscripts dating back at least to 1752, some ten years prior to its first publication. Having established that the *Sermon* was not *written* in response to the *Profession*, but motivated rather by Voltaire's "absolute horror and revulsion at the execution of Jean Calas" (693), Dr. Lee then sets about establishing the history of the *publication* of the *Sermon*, which actually preceded the appearance of Rousseau's *Émile* in Paris by some two weeks. The essay concludes humorously: "In literary history as in life, we all know that myths die hard. Of this one, we can only pray *Requiescat in pace!*" (694).

Another example of Dr. Lee's custom of publishing his research in proceedings collections, "Voltaire et 'La Chronique véritable du preux chevalier dom Philippe d'Orélie'" is also evidence of its author's predilection for tracking down bits of obscure literary history.<sup>15</sup> While

---

<sup>14</sup> J. Patrick Lee, "The Publication of the *Sermon des cinquante*: Was Voltaire Jealous of Rousseau?" *Voltaire et ses combats: Actes du congrès international Oxford-Paris, 1994*, ed. Ulla Kölvig and Christiane Mervaud (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1997), 1: 687-694.

<sup>15</sup> J. Patrick Lee, "Voltaire et 'La Chronique véritable du preux chevalier dom Philippe d'Orélie,'" *Anecdotes, faits-divers, contes, nouvelles, 1700-1820: Actes du Colloque d'Exeter, Septembre, 1998*, ed. Malcolm Cook and James Kearns,

seeking manuscripts of the *Sermons* at Paris' Bibliothèque historique, he discovered in one compilation volume a manuscript with the exhaustive title "La Chronique véritable du preux chevalier dom Philippes d'Orélie où l'on voit les faits d'armes, amours, et autres moults japeuses aventures de plusieurs Barons et nobles Dames, Par le Sieur Arouet de Voltaire" (27). The compilation contains four other works by Voltaire and some notes by the Parisian "libraire" Nicolas Ruault, one of the eighteenth-century collaborators for the Kehl edition. Intrigued by a title with which he was utterly unfamiliar and one that had theretofore gone unnoticed in editions of Voltaire (except by Ruault!), Dr. Lee first establishes the existence of similar manuscripts before remarking on a vogue that began in the seventeenth century, but continued in the first years of the Regency, of texts written in pastiches of old French, à la Marot and Rabelais. Following the publication in 1711 of a new edition of his works, Rabelais's writings experienced renewed popularity in a variety of circles, indeed with the Regent himself. Dr. Lee proposes a number of reasons why it is quite likely that a young Voltaire was the author of the "Chronique" and why he abandoned that particular literary form so quickly.

The 2001 essay "The Unexamined Premise: Voltaire, John Lockman, and the Myth of the *English Letters*," is perhaps the most important example of Dr. Lee's continued efforts to correct mistaken attributions in the historical, literary record.<sup>16</sup> In this instance, he investigates the accepted wisdom of a generation of scholars with respect to circumstances surrounding the composition of Voltaire's *Letters concerning the English nation*. The essay begins with a synopsis of an argument put forth by Harcourt Brown in 1967 whereby Voltaire was to be credited for penning the English version of the text himself, for no translator supposedly would have dared take such liberties in his translation. Brown also dismissed the notion that John Lockman was the translator of said work, claiming that the abbé Prévost in *Le Pour et contre* was the only source for the notion. Dr. Lee's essay then details the subsequent generation of scholars who adopted Brown's viewpoint and also notes those few who had resisted the prevailing doctrine. Pointing out the several inconsistencies in Brown's logic, the essayist then undertakes "to examine systematically the

---

French Studies of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries 5 (Bern: Peter Lang, 2000), 27-40.

<sup>16</sup> J. Patrick Lee, "The Unexamined Premise: Voltaire, John Lockman and the Myth of the *English Letters*," in *Voltaire's Lettres philosophiques*, Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century 2001:10 (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2001), 240-70.



evidence" (243). He begins by citing exactly what Prévost had said, an account which directly undermines Brown's assertions. The abbé explicitly states that, not only was Lockman the translator, but that he (Prévost) had compared the original, French *manuscript* to the translation. By implication then, the manuscript predated the translation, a matter which Voltaire himself had acknowledged, it seems. Dr. Lee goes on to cite multiple instances where Lockman, a well-known and frequently published translator in his day, repeatedly credited himself with the translation of Voltaire's text, as did others. Much of the remainder of the article is devoted to providing a biography of Lockman himself, establishing that "free and inventive translation was both the theory and practice of John Lockman" (253), another point which further dismantles Harcourt Brown's assertions concerning the *Letters*. Comparing parallel passages of Lockman's translations from French to English from several works, Dr. Lee gives actual examples of Lockman's abilities and practice as a translator. He closes with wishes that Lockman be henceforth "recognized for the competent and talented translator that he was" (259), that he be accepted as the translator of the *Letters*, and that future generations of scholars accept this new truth. The article also features a lengthy appendix with Lockman's prefaces for ten of his translations.

In the 2004 essay collection *The Enterprise of Enlightenment*, Dr. Lee contributed an article entitled "The Apocryphal Voltaire: Problems in the Voltairean Canon."<sup>17</sup> Giving multiple examples of each case, the essay proposes a "taxonomy" of "five types of apocryphal works" (266) attributed over the years to the long-lived and most prolific of France's *philosophes*. The first of such attributions were made by Voltaire's many enemies in their attempts to defame the man. The second were those works that attempted to promote their own sales by claiming to have been authored by Voltaire or to be continuations of his works. The third category includes those works that many "attributed to Voltaire because of his established reputation for irreligion" (268). The fourth group is of works purported to be posthumous ones, while the fifth and largest group is of deliberate pastiches by writers seeking to imitate the *philosophe* "for the fun of the attempt" (269). Proffering some reasons as to why Voltaire might have been a particular victim of the mistaken attribution, Dr. Lee concludes the article modestly, likening it to an outline, and implicitly calling for another scholar to explore in greater depth "the role of the apocryphal works in the creation of the public image of Voltaire" (273).

---

<sup>17</sup> J. Patrick Lee, "The Apocryphal Voltaire: Problems in the Voltairean Canon," in *The Enterprise of Enlightenment: A Tribute to David Williams from his Friends* (New York: Peter Lang, 2004), 265-73.

In a 2006 volume devoted to studies on Madame du Châtelet—Voltaire’s long-time protectress, friend, and muse, and a brilliant woman in her own right—Dr. Lee discusses in French “*Le Recueil de poésies: manuscrit de Madame du Châtelet*,” a manuscript in his vast, personal collection, which he had purchased in 1999 from a Californian bookseller.<sup>18</sup> Explaining the volume’s provenance based on an ex-libris indication, the essay describes in detail the manuscript itself, which also contains a note claiming that it had belonged to Madame du Châtelet. Dr. Lee identifies writing in at least four different hands in the volume, including that of Madame du Châtelet, which “se trouve dans les notes marginales, la table, et quelques lignes recopiées des deux dernières pages” (107), and a description of places where pages in the manuscript have been removed or instances when texts have been crossed out. Connecting various texts to Madame du Châtelet—noting especially some five unedited ones by her father the baron de Breteuil—Dr. Lee surmises that the collection was begun during the lifetime of the baron, for the volume’s first part contains more seventeenth-century poems and includes poems by one of the baron’s protégés. The essay identifies poems by well-known writers, the provenance of other poems, and elaborates at length on the various themes present: poems on women, Epicureanism, love, natural law, cuckolding, anticlericalism, the end of the Sun King’s reign, religious conflicts, the Bible, Henri IV, materialism, and, tellingly, the sciences. Dr. Lee also provides an appendix with all the authors identified in the *Recueil*. He concludes his essay by alluding to his desire, ultimately unfulfilled, to do an eventual, critical edition of the manuscript.

Given that so many of his publications were in proceedings journals, it is fitting that Dr. Lee’s last two (posthumous) publications would appear in similar fashion.<sup>19</sup> Having first presented “The English Translation of Voltaire’s *La Pucelle*” on April 1, 2006 in Montreal at the annual meeting of the American Society for Eighteenth Century Studies, Dr. Lee subsequently agreed to provide a more fully developed article for the essay collection *British-French Exchanges in the Eighteenth Century* then being proposed by Kathleen Hardesty Doig (a contributor to this volume) and Dorothy Medlin. His sudden demise prevented him from fulfilling the

---

<sup>18</sup> J. Patrick Lee, “*Le Recueil des poésies: manuscrit de Mme Du Châtelet*,” in *Émilie Du Châtelet: Rewriting Enlightenment Philosophy and Science*, Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century 2006:01 (Oxford: The Voltaire Foundation, 2006), 105-123.

<sup>19</sup> J. Patrick Lee, “The English Translation of Voltaire’s *La Pucelle*,” in *British-French Exchanges in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Kathleen Hardesty Doig and Dorothy Medlin, (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007), 19-33.

task. Happily, however, Dr. Lee's widow and Theodore E. D. Braun (also a contributor to this volume) were able, respectively, to provide this volume's editors with a copy of the presentation and of Dr. Lee's two handouts for that day. Those handouts are adjoined as appendices in the published version. The first of the pair lists all of the published English translations and reprints of *La Pucelle*, while the second juxtaposes translations of the same passages from the original text. The essay proper surveys various English translations of Voltaire's mock-epic ranging from what Dr. Lee characterizes as "the quite pedestrian prose" (19) of the first, anonymous translation, which appeared in a 1758 London publication, to several others in the eighteenth century, then two more translations from the nineteenth century, and finally one from the twentieth century. Along with esthetic judgments concerning the relative merits of each of the versions and erudite digressions on each of the sundry translators—including the debunking of one translator's identity—Dr. Lee is also careful to note which translations had been reprinted in subsequent editions, including one reprint from 2004.

As Ourida Mostefai (another contributor to this collection) helpfully alerted us, Dr. Lee's second posthumous publication arose from a paper that he read at the Rousseau Association Colloquium held in Oxford in 2003 on Rousseau, Voltaire and Fanaticism. It was a return to a favorite topic: Voltaire's "sermons." As with much of his earlier work, "Fanaticism and Toleration in Voltaire's *Sermon du Rabbin Akib*" is yet another corrective exercise in literary history (See fig. *Intro-4*).<sup>20</sup> Continuing work that he had begun in his 1996 article on the same *Sermon*, Dr. Lee notes that scholars "generally associate Voltaire's battle against fanaticism and the campaign for toleration with the Calas Affair and the publication of the *Traité sur la tolérance* (1763)" (73). He asserts here that one ought to give more consideration to the *Sermon du Rabbin Akib* as a turning point in Voltaire's commitment to the struggle. Opening with an expansion on the earlier article's details concerning the unfortunate fate of the aged Jesuit priest Father Gabriel Malagrida, much of the essay is devoted to a close reading of the *Sermon* not only for its factual points, but also for its examples of Voltaire's *modus operandi* in attacking intolerance and fanaticism, which were reused in subsequent, similar works. In this article, Dr. Lee calls upon some of the latest means of doing research, making use of the new search engine *Electronic Enlightenment* to seek out occurrences

---

<sup>20</sup> J. Patrick Lee, "The Condemnation of Fanaticism in Voltaire's *Sermon du Rabbin Akib*," in *Rousseau and l'Infâme: Religion, Toleration, and Fanaticism in the Age of Enlightenment*, ed. Ourida Mostefai and John T. Scott (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2008), 67-76.

of variants on “fanatisme.” The continued availability of Voltaire’s writings in modern databases only underscores Dr. Lee’s final contention: the continued relevance of Voltaire’s call for tolerance in the face of “examples of fanaticism and intolerance all around us” (82).

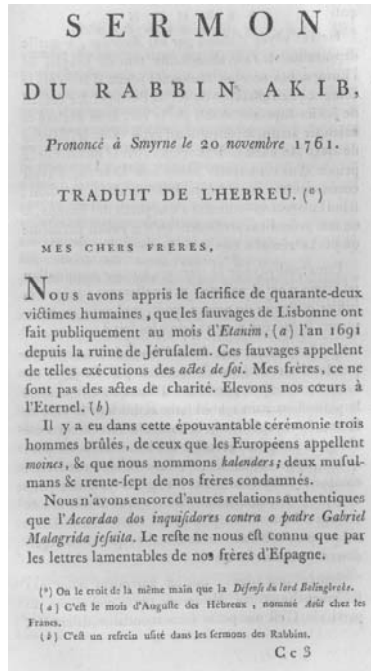


Fig. Intro-4. Title page of *Le Sermon du Rabbín Akib*, in Voltaire, *Philosophie générale: métaphysique, morale et théologie*, Tome 1 in *Œuvres Complètes de Voltaire* (Kehl: De l’Imprimerie de la Société Littéraire Typographique, 1785), 405. Collection of E. J. J.

## Essays in his Memory

While Dr. Lee’s publishing record certainly indicates that he was a devoted Voltaire scholar, his interests in the Enlightenment were wide-ranging and his knowledge of eighteenth-century bibliography legendary among his peers for being encyclopedic. He would have been most pleased by the variety of essays gathered in this collection, whose contributors hail from the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, and France. As their footnotes will indicate, some of the essayists deliberately chose to write on

matters specifically connected to Dr. Lee. The essays in this collection are not grouped in any particular thematic order, but, in a nod to the Encyclopedic spirit, are simply alphabetized by the last names of their authors. Slightly more than half of the essays concern Voltaire and his writings, while the remaining eight take up other matters in eighteenth-century French studies. They include considerations on various kinds of Enlightenment expression such as, in no particular order and not exclusively, letters, tales, poetry, encyclopedias, dictionaries, stage works, pamphlets, and self-portraits.

Of the essays that specifically concern Voltaire and his writing, the first among them is an essay by Nicholas Cronk about the complexities of censorship in the *ancien régime* and Voltaire's attempts to manipulate laws, booksellers, and whatever the situation to get his writings into circulation. A product of his pen frequently disavowed by Voltaire, but which has never gone out of circulation, *Candide* is the central text in William F. Edmiston's study on how sex serves as a vehicle for Voltaire to create satire in a *conte philosophique* that remains the *philosophe's* most famous and most widely read work some two and a half centuries later. In his own day and in different eras, of course, Voltaire was famous for many other works. Olivier Ferret grapples with the complicated publishing history of one such example, *La Pucelle*, Voltaire's most frequently reprinted text in the nineteenth century. The appearance of other texts by Voltaire or those that purported to be by him—here collections of Voltaire's letters, which appeared without the *philosophe's* approval—are also revelatory of the complicated politics of publishing in the eighteenth century, as John R. Iverson relates in his essay. The politics of what one could say and not say in print are the central matter in the essay by E. M. Langille who returns to the matter of *Candide* and other writings by Voltaire, questioning the effectiveness of Voltaire's spiteful, vengeance-minded attempts to tarnish the reputation of Frederick the Great by sly imputations of sodomy.

Voltaire's travels took him to Prussia and England, but for much of his life, he also longed to visit Italy and Greece and expressed much regret at never having done so, as John Leigh discusses in his essay. The effects of the *philosophe's* actual travels return to the fore in Jonathan Mallinson's essay concerning Voltaire's first lust for revenge against Frederick, expressed in what were then unpublishable letters wherein the Frenchman likens himself to a noble, Don Quixote-like figure who had misunderstood his true situation in Prussia. Although Voltaire could not openly attack the king of Prussia, the Frenchman could take action on other fronts in his struggles against the various forms of tyranny and oppression. Ourida

Mostefai demonstrates how he did so in her essay on Voltaire the pamphleteer who made use of a rapidly produced, marketed, and consumed mode of communication to spread the philosophic word despite censorship and to fight his “wars on paper” against his enemies. Seemingly indefatigable, Voltaire’s combative efforts would spill over—though not altogether successfully—to the comedic stage, as Byron R. Wells writes in the essay that concludes this volume.

With respect to other generic innovations, the collection’s first essay is by Theodore E. D. Braun. It concerns one of Voltaire’s nemeses, Le Franc de Pompignan, and his attempts to create a new genre of moral operas. The essay includes synopses of the five plays where the writer attempted to elucidate his theories. Diderot’s *Encyclopédie* had itself, of course, been a major innovation, but nonetheless, as Kathleen Hardesty Doig discusses, the publishing magnate Charles Joseph Panckoucke thought the original could be improved upon. Panckoucke’s *Encyclopédie méthodique* offered historians such as Gabriel Henri Gaillard the chance to revise and expand at length upon matters such as the history of heraldry. Revision can often be an attack, of course, and counterattacking is at the heart of the abbé Chaudon’s *Dictionnaire anti-philosophique*, which sought to counter Voltaire’s *Dictionnaire philosophique portatif*, as David Eick illustrates, while giving us the timely reminder of the importance to take into serious consideration the writings of the Enlightenment’s enemies. The artist Jean-Baptiste Greuze had his own enemies, often his own peers, and while best-remembered nowadays as a genre painter of dramatic family scenes and of allegorical scenes with girls, we should also take into serious consideration Greuze’s efforts as a portraitist, especially as a self-portraitist, argues Bernadette Fort.

If a portrait is always the representation of something that has been lost, then the sylvan elegists whom Walter Gershuny examines in his essay are themselves word painters seeking to depict their sense of loss at the destruction of woodland and trees in the face of relentless progress. The primeval forests of Canada, on the other hand, are the setting for resisting the corruptions of civilization once a French nobleman named Saint-Castins marries into a Native American tribe, as E. Joe Johnson discusses in his essay on Bricaire de la Dixmerie’s tale *Azakia*, which discusses the “real” Saint-Castin and the many incarnations of this particular fictionalization of his life. It also includes a reading of Dixmerie’s tale of what, for contemporary French readers, was an overseas adventure of a bygone colonial day. Overseas colonies and speculation led to spectacular financial disasters in the eighteenth century for both France and England, the *fond* for debates on the nature of credit as conducted in pamphlets and